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# ARGUMENT

Against a

# WAR

WITH

# FRANCE.

WHEREIN

A late Pamphlet entitled, *Reasons  
for a War*, is thoroughly Examined, and  
fully Refuted.

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By the AUTHOR of the History of the  
MITRE and PURSE.

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L O N D O N :

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**B**Y what Name or Title the Author of *Reasons for a War*, is dignify'd or distinguish'd; or whether he is a Soldier, or serves the Crown in any other Capacity, it is not altogether necessary to know; yet this may be suggested, as a natural Inference from his writing on that Head, that he is in some Employment in the Army, the Treasury, or elsewhere

in a Capacity of gaining Advantage by fingering the Monies to be rais'd on such an Occasion ; else he would never, at this Time of Day, when we have, as it were, just extricated ourselves from the Miseries of War, take upon him to give us Reasons for plunging ourselves into it again. As if a Man, because he had once escap'd drowning, when over Head and Ears in Water, ought to make it his Business to repeat the Experiment, and try whether he could sink or swim a second Time.

What Foundations this Writer's Reasons are grounded upon, will best appear by a modest Survey of them ; in making of which, we are given to understand, in general Terms, after he has spoken of the *vast Effusion of Blood and Treasure* the last War stood us in, which is a very weighty Inducement for us not to enter upon a new one ; and told us, that *France and Spain* has acted collusively with us, in relation to our Traffick, and the Performance of the Conditions of Peace ; Instances of which, he gives us in the Delay of filling up the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, demolishing the Fortifications of the Town entirely, the making of a new Canal at *Mar-dyke, &c.* and laying Embargoes on our Shipping, and Duties upon our Goods in *Spain :*



*Spain* : He inserts *Mr. Prior's Memorial*, given in at the *French Court*, and his most Christian Majesty's Answer to it.

I shall not think it belonging to my Province, to offer at any Thing in Derogation of the Justice of the one, nor in Diminution of the Veracity of the other ; being well assur'd, that his Majesty of *Great Britain* would not interpret that for a Contradiction to the Terms of Peace, that was not really so ; and that the *French King* has the Observation of Treaties more at Heart, than wilfully to break thro' them, without having an Eye to the true Meaning of them. These would be Suggestions unworthy of a Person who is too well appriz'd of the Veneration due to crown'd Heads, not to have the highest Conceptions of their Regard for solemn Engagements : I shall therefore leave the literal and direct Meaning of the *Portus Complotur*, to be decided between the two Courts in a more amicable Way than this Incendiary proposes, and make my Observations only on what he urges to bring them to a Rupture, which, in my poor Opinion, is so far from being *Reasons for a War*, that it actually evinces the Necessity of continuing the *Peace*. Such a wide Difference there is at present between the Sentiments of this inflamed

med Author, and me ; his Intention being to endanger the present happy Scituation of Affairs over all *Europe*, by spiriting up new Troubles and Commotions, and mine to prevent any Disturbances that may arise from a too fond Opinion of our Strength, and too little Esteem of theirs, whom, by taking up Arms against, he would have us make our Enemies.

The Power of making *Peace* and *War*, is in the Prerogative of the Crown ; and howsoever his Majesty is bound by the Limitation-Act, not to make us enter upon the latter, on Account of any Accident that shall happen to his Territories in *Germany*, without Consent of Parliament ; 'tis most certain, he is no ways restrain'd from declaring one, when he shall be fully satisfy'd of any Invasions made upon the Rights of his Subjects, in his Dominions of *Great Britain*, or of any Insults upon his own Honour or Regal Character. But tho' the King can enter into a War by Virtue of his own Royal Authority, the Parliament is to be consulted with for its Maintainance ; and proper Funds are to be rais'd for the carrying it on, which has been wisely provided, by wholesome Laws, that no Prince whatsoever (and Princes may arise in future Generations, as well as past, whose Ambition may be destru-

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ctive to their People) should involve his Subjects in the Charges that are the Consequences of supporting that War, without their Concurrence.

For this End, when the great Law of *Magna Charta* was made, and the Liberties of the Subject were insur'd to them by a solemn Covenant between them and their King, it was enacted, That no one should be forc'd to bear Arms out of the Kingdom ; which, tho' it has been in the late Wars dispenc'd with, by several Acts for the better recruiting our Forces, &c. is yet valid, and irrepealable, as a Token of our Freedom, and the Liberties that are inseparable from our very Birth-right, as Britons. Now, if they can neither be legally compell'd to contribute Money towards carrying on a War without the Consent, nay, the very Act and Deed of their Representatives ; if they cannot be spirited away upon any foreign Service, and have it in their Power not to be in the Number of such as are concern'd in these Hostilities, unless they make it their own Option so to be ; it follows from hence, that the People have it only in their Choice to make these Hostilities successful, and with adequate Means to compass the Ends of them.

For, the principal Motive of taking Arms, is a Prospect of Success by so doing ; which, howsoever this Writer may assure himself of, cannot be secur'd to us beyond a Possibility of Misfortunes, since Dame Victory is of a very unstable Constitution, and sometimes gives her Attendance on the Ensigns of this General, and at others, pays her Devoirs to the happy Auspices of that great Commander. Nor is it to be drawn into a Consequence, that because we have been too hard for our Enemies, in every Campaign we made the last War, that we shall continue Conquerors at the Commencement of a new one.

'Twould savour of great Arrogance, if not Impiety, to make such a Conclusion from such Premises, since it rather becomes us to judge the *Events* of a *Rupture* from the *Justice* of it, than to deduce all the Tokens of Superiority in the Conduct of a War, from being able to be the first Declarers of it. Has not the *French King* told his Majesty, *That he doubts not, that a good Understanding will be perfect, when all Suspicions will be clear'd up, and all Suppositions banish'd ?* Has he not made Answer, *That he has executed great Part of the Treaty, relating to the entire Demolition of Dunkirk, and filling up its Harbour ? and given Orders for Destroy-*  
ing



ing the rest? Has he not said, he has demonstrated his good Faith in the Execution of his Treaties, and given particular Proofs to the King of *Great Britain*, by sending back the Pretender to the Place of his Retirement, when he heard of his Passage thro' his Kingdom, to embark for this, at the Death of the late Queen? and shall this insolent Arraigner of the Acts of Princes, blow the Trumpet against him, and cry, *To your Tents*, because he and his Friends can have no Enjoyment like that of Porpoises in a Storm, and take Pleasure to fish in troubled Waters?

But tho' there is little to be apprehended from a Man's Arguments, the Tendency of which seem chiefly to point at Defamation, and cannot be of any Weight with his Majesty, or his Parliament, who are to be the proper Judges; yet, since they may have an Influence on Persons of less Penetration and Discernment, it will not be foreign to the Design in Hand, to enter into the Merits of them.

Caution forbids me to say, after what has been alledg'd in the King's Name by Mr. *Prior*, that the *French* have executed the Treaty; but *Reason* will tell us, and convince us, that she speaks Truth too, when she asserts, that every Neglect of executing an Article of Peace, on the one

Part, does not excuse the Breach of Friendship in the other, and justify Recourse to Arms for Redress ; because the Nature of the Grievance may possibly be such, as to be remedy'd by less hazardous and violent Measures ; and 'tis more consistent with the Laws of Humanity, to prevent a Rupture by Expostulations, than to hasten and accelerate it by an immediate Defiance.

The Battel is not always given to the Strong, neither is the Race to the Swift. As Stratagems are often found to step in between the *One* and *Victory*, so are they known to be great Remora's to the other, between the *starting-Place* and the *Goal*. Wherefore it behoves us, as is said in the Scripture, *with him that intends to build a Tower, to sit down and count the Cost, whether we have sufficient to finish it ; lest happily, after we have laid the Foundation, and are not able to finish it, all that behold it, begin to mock us, saying, These Men began to build, and were not able to finish. What King, going to War against another King, sitteth not down first, and considereth whether he be able with ten thousand Men, to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand ? Or else, while the other is yet a great Way off, he sendeth an*

*an Embassy, and desireth Conditions of Peace.*

Not that I would here offer to insinuate, tho' the Author I have under Consideration, does, that his Majesty is any otherwise dispos'd, than to a strict Observance of the Treaty made by his Royal Predecessor, or that he has any Thoughts, that the *French King* will not fulfil the Conditions of it, when he reminds him, by his Memorial, of flying off from the Letter of it ; since it says, *the King of Great Britain is resolv'd, on his Side, religiously to observe the Treaty of Utrecht, and to maintain with your Majesty an Amity so sincere, that he desires above all Things, to prevent all Incidents that may disturb that good Intelligence.* And it is answer'd, on the Part of *France*, after explaining what his *Gallick Majesty* had done towards making good every Particular of the ninth Article, " That he sees with  
 " Pleasure, the Assurances which that  
 " Prince renews with him of observing  
 " religiously the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and  
 " maintaining with him a sincere Amity.  
 " By the Means of which happy Dispo-  
 " sition, it is easy to put a Stop to all In-  
 " cidents which are capable of troubling  
 " a good Understanding. But I would  
 fain know upon what Dependance he

founds his arrogant Assurance of dictating to the Sovereign and the Subjects, concerning the Entrance into a War, whereby the Nation has been so very lately impoverish'd, and almost reduc'd to the extreamest Misery.

Such a Question, I presume, may, without Offence, be put to a Person who is no better entitled to be in the Secret, than I am; and, 'tis to be hop'd, will meet with but indifferent Encouragement from the general Bent of the Nation, which has so lately sent up Promises to the Throne, of *cultivating the Arts of Peace*. But since Answers by Interrogatories are seldom approv'd, I shall take the Liberty of putting my *Reasons against a War with France*, in Competition with his *Reasons for it*, after as brief a Manner as the Nature of the Thing will allow.

The learned Grotius says, a WAR, according to the Voice of REASON and of NATURE, ought to be founded on just Grounds; as, the Violation of Publick Treaties; an Encroachment upon Peoples Liberties; a Denial of Restitution for Injuries committed; and a Breach of that common Friendship, which ought to be cultivated between one State and another. Now, whether that Prince, whom the Writer of the *Reasons* would precipitate us into an  
open



open Rupture with, is guilty of a *Violation* of a publick Treaty; and to what a Degree, it will be best seen by having Recourse to the Treaty it self; the ninth Article of which, according to the Original, and its Translation, publish'd by Authority, runs thus. *Curabit Rex Christianissimus, ut Munimenta omnia Civitatis Dunquerque solo æquentur, Portus compleatur, Aggeres aut Moles, dicto Portui eluendo inservientes, diruantur, idque propriis dicti Regis impensis, infra Spatium quinque Mensium post conclusas signatasq; Pacis Conditiones; id est, Munimenta Maritima, infra Spatium bimestre, Terrena verò, una cum dictis Aggeribus, intra trimestre, ea insuper Lege ne dicta Munimenta, Portus, Moles, aut Aggeres denuo unquam reficiantur. Quorum tamen omnium everasio non inchoabitur, nisi postquam Regi Christianissimo traditum fuerit, id omne, quod eorum Loco, sive Equivalens tradi debet.* “ The most Christian King shall take Care, that all the  
 “ Fortifications of the City of *Dunkirk*  
 “ be raz'd; that the Harbour be fill'd  
 “ up; and that the Sluice, or Mole,  
 “ which serve to cleanse the Harbour,  
 “ be levell'd, and that at the said King's  
 “ own Expençe, within the Space of five  
 “ Months after the Conditions of Peace  
 “ are concluded and sign'd: That is to  
 “ say,

“ say, the Fortifications towards the Sea,  
 “ within the Space of two Months, and  
 “ those towards the Land, together with  
 “ the said Banks, within three Months;  
 “ on this Express Condition also, that  
 “ the Fortifications, Harbours, Moles, or  
 “ Sluices, be never repair’d again. All  
 “ which however shall not be begun to  
 “ be ruin’d, ’till other Things is put in-  
 “ to his most Christian Majesty’s Hands,  
 “ which is to be given him instead there-  
 “ of, or as an Equivalent.

This is the Sum and Substance of the  
 Article, the Conditions of which, are com-  
 plain’d of not to be perform’d, both in  
 the Memorial, and the Reply to it; tho’  
 what the *Equivalent* mention’d therein  
 was, or is to be, those that drew up  
 that Article, best know. I shall not there-  
 fore be offensive to my Superiors in any  
 Surmises about it, or give any Handle,  
 as the Author of the *Reasons* does, for  
 the least Suspicion, that this new Ca-  
 nal was meant for the *Equivalent*; which,  
 if true, wholly destroys his *Arguments*  
*for a War*; since if it was stipulated  
 as such, the making it is only coming  
 up to the Letter of the Treaty, and a  
 punctual Observance of the Execution  
 thereof.

But

But to follow him farther in the Pursuit of his *Reasons*, as he calls them, with which he has the Hardiness to join Issue with the *French King*, who in his Answer to the *Memorial*, declares, *That he has no other Design of causing this Canal to be cut, than to save a Country of a vast Extent, which would be overflow'd and drown'd, if the Waters had not a Passage to the Sea.* The Reasoner will hold me excus'd, if I say, whatsoever Motives he has to complain against the *Depth* of it, that he is out of his *Depth*, when he launches out into such positive Assertions concerning it. For, with Submission to him, if he will but take a View of the Plan of those Works, lately brought over here, he will find, that *two Canals*, full as *broad* and as *long*, could not have been perfected at a less Expence than this *one*; because those *two Canals* could never have contain'd that mighty Flux of Waters mention'd in the *French King's Answer*, but would have added to the overflowing of the Country, without a convenient Depth. In the next Place, he must pardon me, if his instancing in the great Solemnity of laying the first Stone, &c. by Persons of the first Quality there, be a sufficient Inducement to make me conclude, that it's design'd

sign'd from thence, to be made a Place  
 of Strength; for, without his most Christi-  
 an Majesty's Assurances of his Intentions  
 to *build no Place there*, it is so very  
 common at the Beginning of any great  
 Work, (as this must be reputed to be from  
 the great Quantity of Water it carries  
 off to the Sea) for Persons of the first  
 Quality to be present, and have their  
 Names affix'd to some of the first Stones  
 of it, as to give no manner of Grounds  
 for extraordinary Suspicions. Besides,  
 had *Mardyke* been intended to be fortify'd  
 in the Manner he gives an Account of, some  
 greater Person's Name than the *Chevalier*  
*de Luxemburgh's*, would have been made  
 use of in the Foundations; the Kings, or  
 at least one of the Princes of the Blood,  
 would have been engrav'd on it, and ano-  
 ther Sort of Parade been made use of, than  
 what was exercis'd there. Instead of a  
 Knight at the Head of the principal In-  
 habitants of *Dunkirk*, all the great Offi-  
 cers would have attended, as in all Cases  
 where Royal Bulwarks are design'd to be  
 erected, and *the best Wits of France* would  
 indeed have been exercis'd in celebrating  
 and setting forth the future Importance of  
 the Place. But there was no such Cere-  
 mony in Practice here, tho' confidently  
 asserted by the Author, who, by forging  
 that



that of *Uno avulso non deficit alter*, discovers the Weakness of his Authority ; for he must have been a Witling to the last Degree, that should have furnish'd out so incongruous an Inscription. For, how could the plucking off one Twig from a Tree, in *Virgil*, that another might sprout out in its Place, be said to have any Analogy to the filling up one Harbour, and making a new one ; unless *Destruction* and *Creation* were one and the same Things ; which are so very far from being synonymous Terms, that they are as different from each other, as Light and Darkeness.

Again, as the *Reasoner* is undoubtedly out in his Account of the Ceremony with which this redoubtable, tho' defenceless Canal, was begun, so common Sense and Honesty oblige me to set him right in his Story about the *Equivalent* ; since whatsoever Faults the late Ministry were guilty of, (and no Ministry has been yet known to be infallible) the greatest Enemy they have, cannot have so mean an Opinion of their Politicks, as to imagine, much less to declare, that they not only gave their Consent to the opening and perfecting of it, but sent them Money and Materials towards the carrying of it on. The very Sink of Lyes and Detraction, which this Story is taken from,

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discovers

discovers the Falshood and Malice of it ; and enough is said to destroy the Probability of it, when it is affirm'd, that it is grounded on no other Man's Assertion than the Author's of the *Flying-Post*, who took the Liberty in the late Reign, of rendering those at the Helm of Government, odious to the People, by broaching so incredible a Relation from the Mouth of a Quaker just arriv'd from *Dunkirk* ; I say incredible, because there could not have been wanting amongst so numerous a Garrison of *British* Subjects as were then in Possession of that Fortrefs, such as would have made their Complaints of it ; and the Noise of so manifest a Violation of our known Laws, as sending Timber and Money to a foreign Potentate, would have spread it self more diffusively among us. Instead of this, not one Officer, not so much as one common Soldier from thence, does in the least give into so scandalous a Report ; which had been done, were there any Colour of Justice for it, since it is to be suppos'd, that amongst so many Persons who must have been Eye-Witnesses of such a Procedure, some of them would have shewn their Resentment against it, and have made their Complaints, especially at a Time when Men are hourly at Work to expose and lay

lay open the Male-Administration of the late Governors ; and it is look'd upon as making the greatest Merit, to speak opprobriously of them.

Nor is the Gentleman's Relation, who is said to be in Mr. *Cadogan's* Retinue, more authentick than the former, for this is likewise extracted from the same Paper, or a much worse, viz. *The Daily Courant*, and of much the same Complexion. Because the Writer of this can actually produce a Person of much greater Distinction, than one of any General's Retinue, who, by being present at the Demolition of the Works, is ready to attest, that every Step that was taken in it by the *French*, was in Concert with our Engineers there ; and wheresoever it was practicable entirely to raze and destroy any Foundation, it was actually demanded, and comply'd with ; else, it is not to be believ'd, that, had the *Fettees* been suffer'd to remain as high as the Surface of the Water, Mr. *Prior* would have receiv'd Orders from hence to remonstrate against it in his *Memorial*. Such manifest Violations of the Treaty would never have been left out of it, at a Time when Application was making for a strict Observance of it in every Branch ; and that faithful Minister, than whom none has more at Heart his Master's Ho-

nour, and his Country's Interest, would not have fail'd taking Notice of so material a Point.

Having trac'd our Antagonist thus far, and follow'd him Step by Step, in our Observations on his Motives for a War, which are founded upon Breaches of the Peace, which I agree with him in making calm and friendly Expostulations for the Conservation of ; it rests upon me, to consider of the Ways and Means he proposes for the Conduct of it. But before I enter upon that Part of his Pamphlet, which has more Smoke than Fire in it, he will give me Leave to reimburse him the Charges of a Present from Sir Roger *L'Estrange's* Fables, with another from the same Head.

### The Fable of the GRIFFON.

**T**HERE happen'd a Battle once betwixt the Birds and the Beasts, with the Lyon and the Eagle at the Head of them ; and it was a Battle hard fought ; the Beasts being terribly gall'd from above, with Darts out of the Air, and from the Tops of Houses. In the Heat of the Encounter, up comes a Griffon towards the Place of Action, which put both Generals  
to



*to a Plunge what to do ; for, betwixt his Wings and his Fore-feet, the Eagle was afraid he would have join'd with the Beasts ; and the Lyon, on the other Hand, as suspicious that he would have taken Part with the Birds. Upon this, they both sent Deputies to the Griffon, by Consent, to know what he was, and to learn his Business. His Answer was, That being neither Bird nor Beast, he could not concern himself in the Quarrel ; but as he was a Partaker of both, he could not but have a Kindness for one, as well as the other ; and so advis'd them to bethink themselves of an Accommodation. They took his Counsel, and made the Griffon the Umpire of the Controversy ; who immediately order'd both Armies to disband, and so put an end to the War.*

'Tis not to be thought, that an Application is expected to the foregoing Peice of Mythology ; it explains it self, and there is no one but is in Duty bound to act the Part of the Griffon, and to reconcile Differences, rather than foment them ; since, of whatsoever Nations or Opinions we may be, we cannot deny but we are Partakers of the same Species, and, as Men and Christians, are bound to have a mutual Benevolence towards each other.

Why

Why then should any one, that has not in View the making of his Fortunes by the Ruin of the Publick, turn Advocate for a new War? Why should he not rather reflect on the Miseries and Calamities that we were involv'd in during the last, and bear in Memory the Taxes that are entail'd upon him and his Posterity, thro' the Means of it? The Grand Alliance was first enter'd into, to obtain a safe and honourable Peace, according to *Cicero's* Maxim, that says, *Nihil aliud est in Fœdere nisi ut pia & æterna Pax sit*, "The sole End of forming a Confederacy, is to procure a good and perpetual Peace. Now, if this has been the Effect of our late Engagements against *France*, for what Reason can any one be importunately desirous of a new Breach with that Potentate, since we have effectually gain'd what we fought for, the most advantageous Conditions for our selves, and most equitable Terms for our Friends?

'Tis to be acknowledg'd, indeed, that by one of the Articles of the Grand Alliance, it was stipulated, That none of the Parties concern'd, should lay down their Arms 'till the entire Recovery of the whole Monarchy of *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon*, in Right of that of *Austria*: But our Reason will tell us, that Article was necessarily

farily become void by the Choice of the present Emperor, whose Brother's Renunciation of that Crown, was founded upon the old fundamental Maxim call'd, *The Ballance of Power*. If therefore, by Virtue of the late Treaty, wherein *Great Britain* made her Claim, and had her just Demands fully answer'd, by the Surrender of mighty Acquisitions to enlarge her Territories ; if *Savoy* and *Prussia* have more than ever they ask'd, and the *Dutch* have as good a Barrier as they could wish for, by the Means of it ; if such Terms have been provided by it for *Portugal*, as were agreed for by our Treaties with that Nation. In a Word, if the two Houses of Parliament, who entreated her late Majesty to enter upon and finish that great Work, have thankfully approv'd it by their Votes and Suffrages ; and every true *Briton* has the Happiness to find the *Hanover* Succession not only acknowledg'd in the strongest Terms, but settled and establish'd on the Throne, as the Result of this Peace, which all the *Pretender's* Solicitations could not prevail with the *French* King to break thro', at a Time when the *Reasoner* himself must hold we were very little provided against an Invasion ; with what Face can it be rail'd at, and ill treated, but theirs, whose only Safety and  
Welfare

Welfare consists in Disorder and Confusion, and whose Shame has no Beginning, and Iniquity no End ?

But to return to my Antagonist, whom I may otherwise seem to have lost Sight of. How inconsistent is he with himself in his Harrangues for a War, while he tells us the Difficulty we have labour'd under, and must be born down with again, during the conducting of it ? With what Ease does he raise Supplies of Men and Money, for the carrying it on, while he tacitly confesses the Nation's Stock to be exhausted by the late Mismanagements ? If any Trust were to be put in Addresses, which is the Staff he in particular leans upon ; why not in those that congratulated her late Majesty at the Conclusion of the Peace ? If in the last, what will become of his new War ? Or where are the Grounds for it, if held to be glorious and lasting ? I hold with him, that *we thought our selves in an ill Condition* to take the Field *at the Beginning of the last Reign* ; but we not only think, but know our selves to be so at the Commencement of this. 'Tis true, we have a Prince, who, by the Advantage of his Sex, and his great Experience in the Art of War, all that is great and glorious, and gives us Hopes of a lasting Series of bright Events from every Accident



dent of his glorious Life ; but that Prince must be more than Human, who can make Conquests without proper Means to acquire them ; or be successful in War, without being assisted with the Sinews that are said properly to sustain it. His Majesty is of too penetrating a Judgment, not to discern, that we are in another Condition, than when the Allies were in Possession of several strong Holds, now restor'd to *France*. *Doway, Mons, Lisle, Aire, Bethune, St. Venant, and Bouchain*, with many other Fortresses, are to be reconquer'd, before we can be put upon the same Footing ; and what Time, what Blood and Treasure, those will take up, a Review of their expensive Sieges will best discover.

“ But, says the War Advocate, we are  
 “ better prepar'd now, to demand Justice  
 “ for all Violations of Treaties under the  
 “ Reign of a Prince, who being strict to  
 “ his own Word, will not suffer others  
 “ to depart from theirs ; and who, by  
 “ Virtue of his Relation to the Emperor,  
 “ and other Princes of the first Rank in  
 “ *Germany*, and his Electoral Dignity, is  
 “ of Weight and Authority enough to  
 “ form an Alliance equal, if not superior,  
 “ to that which the evil Conduct of the  
 “ displac'd Statesmen has lately disjoint-  
 D “ ed,

“ ed, and put out of Order.” To which it is reply’d, The Ministry are best able to answer for themselves ; and, that if we have a powerful Prince upon the Throne, we have also a just one, who has the Quiet and Ease of his People more at Heart than any ambitious Considerations ; and is too good, too gracious to his Subjects, that have cheerfully, and without grudging, given to his two Royal Predecessors near seventy Millions Sterling, to bring our Enemies to Reason, not to do what in him lies, towards preventing a farther Effusion of Christian Blood. ’Tis true, indeed, that his Majesty’s Affinity to the Head of the Empire, and the chief Members of it, with the Addition of his ancient Dominions to those he is now in Possession of, would be of great Weight and Authority, as well with those Princes, as with the *Dutch* : But we are to consider, that the former are oblig’d by the Treaties of *Radstad* and *Baden*, and the latter by that of *Utrecht*, to a strict Observance of them. The *French* are willing and ready to execute theirs with *Germany*, by the Evacuation of the Towns there, as soon as the Elector of *Bavaria*, as has been stipulated thereby, is restor’d to his Dominions ; and the *Germans*, on their Part, seem dispos’d to give up what it has been

been agreed. But if the First have put off the Reform of their Troops, by Reason of some Umbrage taken at Negotiations on Foot in the Courts of the Last; it can only be accounted an Act of Policy in them, to be in a Readiness against any ill Accident that may happen by way of Surprise.

As for the States General, their Alliance with us, by Virtue of the Barrier-Treaty, is of another Nature, since our Interest and theirs is inseparable; and it behoves us and them, for our mutual Security, to assist each other upon all Emergencies, because they are *Guarantees* of our Succession; and should any Thing intervene towards its Disturbance in the present Royal Protestant House, are oblig'd to furnish us with a stated Number of Ships of War, and Land-Forces, according to our Necessities; and we are bound to do the like by them, should any Potentate, either *France* or the Emperor, offer to streighten them in the Extent of their Frontier, which they have obtain'd by the late Peace. Yet, these Covenants between us and them, cannot be said to be departed from by either, should any one of us enter into a Quarrel that has no Reference to the above-mention'd Conditions: For, at this Rate, should the Men of the

Sword, stimulated by the Desire of full Pay, prevail upon the Legislature by their pretended Fears and Jealousies of a Monarch, who like an old Trunk of a spacious Oak, is depriv'd by the late Treaties of more than half its Branches, what would it not be in their Power to accomplish? A standing Army would of Course be the Result of it; and what the Consequences of a standing Army has been, it is sufficiently demonstrated in ancient and modern History; where Property, where religious and civil Rights have been overturn'd, and set aside, by the Means of it.

It is therefore the Business of every Elector of Members to serve in Parliament, for his own Sake, and the Advantage of his Posterity, not to be deluded or amus'd by the Noise of *an ill Peace*, while he feels the Blessings of it; while his Sons are not press'd into the Wars, nor his Daughters made the Followers of Camps: But to weigh the Difference between those who have loaded us with Taxes, and would still increase them, and those that have taken off a Part of that intolerable Burthen, and would endeavour to lessen it for the Future.

We should consider, *as a certain Author very wisely observes*, that without the Peace, our Nation at this Juncture had been



been undoubtedly the Havock of Armies. The King of *France*, on one Hand, had landed the Pretender; and on the other, our Guarantees the *Dutch*, and the Troops of *Hanover*, had been call'd to our Assistance; so that our *Peace-Makers* justly merit our Thanks and Esteem, if upon no other Consideration than this great Deliverance. Tho' the fixing of the Ballance of *Europe* in such a due Poise, that neither the House of *Austria*, nor that of *Bourbon*, have too exorbitant a Power; the Advantages we of the *British* Nations have gain'd by the Acquisition of the Island of *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*; by the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, the Cession of *Hudson's Bay*, the Island of *St. Christopher*, *Nova Scotia*, *Annopolis Royal*, all *Newfoundland*, with the Town and Fortres of *Placentia*, &c. are convincing Demonstrations that the Benefits which arise from their wise Foresight, and Skill in Treating, are much more general.

The Cant of a *bad Peace*, is only to draw us into another *Land-War*; which, if we once engage in more, I dare venture to say, whatsoever Conquests may be made abroad by our fortunate and great General, will feed upon our Vitals at Home, and make every one, but him and his Officers, much the worse for them. A  
King

King of *Great Britain*, that reigns in the Hearts of his Subjects, has a much larger Empire, than if in the Possession of all *Europe*, without them ; and his Majesty having promis'd to make us a flourishing and happy People, that Regard for our Welfare and Prosperity, seems to anticipate all other Considerations, and to enjoin us to put his Majesty, by a Choice of fit Representatives, into a Condition to make his Words good ; which will effectually be done, by making use of the ensuing Elections, so as to set those aside, who having finger'd the Funds for many Years, know the Sweetness of the Gains too well, not to be for a War that will make them arise more plenteously. The landed Men, who for twenty Years together have paid the fifth Part of their Estates for the Security of our Constitution, are the only Men to be rely'd upon, and most unquestionably prepar'd to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in its Defence. But what have those who stile themselves its only Friends, contributed ? What is it they have done for the House of *Hanover* ? For I will be bold to say, that it is solely owing to the Gentlemen of Estates, whom they have branded with the Names of Infamy and Scandal, that his present Majesty is upon the Throne, and the Pretender

tender incapable of giving us the least Disquiet.

“ It is the Happiness of an *English-man*,  
 “ That no Money can be rais’d, or Taxes  
 “ laid upon him, but by his own Con-  
 “ sent : His Representative in the House  
 “ of Commons, is his Delegate and Tru-  
 “ stee, with whom he entrusts his Liber-  
 “ ty and Property, and every Thing that  
 “ is dear to him : It is therefore of the  
 “ greatest Moment, to consider the Abi-  
 “ lities and Integrity, and all other ne-  
 “ cessary Qualifications of this his Re-  
 “ presentative.

“ Any Man, who designs a Guardian  
 “ for his Children, would pitch upon  
 “ one who he thought would discharge  
 “ his Trust with a good Conscience, and  
 “ for the Advantage of his Family : How  
 “ careful then, and vigilant, should we be,  
 “ least we are impos’d upon, when not  
 “ only our own Family, but the whole  
 “ Nation, depend upon our Choice ?

All the Train of Woes and Miseries  
 we have experienc’d, are owing to our  
 selves, and have proceeded from the Choice  
 of such to represent us, who were either  
 ignorant of the State of our Affairs, or  
 forfeited their Trust out of Interest. We  
 have Cankers and Moths in our very Bow-  
 els ; and we meet in vain at an Election,

if

if we do not make Choice of honest Gentlemen to represent us, who mind their Country more than themselves, and prefer the publick Interest, to their own.

The present Parliament is an undoubted Specimen of the happy Consequences of a wise Choice; and I may venture to propose it as a Rule, without Exception, that the same House of Commons re-chosen, would make us the happiest People upon Earth. I have no Room to enter into a Detail of their Proceedings; it is sufficient, that to them the Country is indebted for the Diminution of the Land-Tax, and his Majesty for the Settlement of his Revenue. Whatever Reproaches may be cast upon some Members, in Relation to Trifles, or human Failures, from which no Man is free, perhaps there never was an House of Commons, since the Original of Parliaments, who had the Welfare of their Country more at Heart, or who have shewn a more unfeign'd Loyalty to their Sovereign. Their Actions are the best Interpreters, and truest Evidences of their Designs. And so speedy were their Endeavours upon the Queen's Demise, for the Quiet of the Kingdom, and the *Support and Grandeur* of his Majesty, that he was scarce acquainted with his being King of *Great Britain,*



*Britain*, before his faithful Commons gave him to understand, that he had a Revenue suitable to his Dignity.

When I speak of the Parliament, I would be understood to mean the Majority, by whom every Thing is voted and transacted; and so interwoven were the Interests of his Majesty, and the *present Parliament*, that whoever endeavours to separate the one from the other, is an Enemy to both. I am sensible, there are those, who, notwithstanding this, are free of their Reflections; but shall the King acknowledge the Fidelity of an House of Commons, and shall a Subject have the Insolence to dispute it? Or shall the King, or his Subjects, be the Judge?

There is one Thing, which would be Injustice to forget, that will make this *House of Commons* for ever memorable, I mean, *the Bill for qualifying their own Members*. A Gentleman of Estate is undoubtedly the only proper Representative of his Country; for a Man of a small Fortune is liable to the Temptation of a Bribe, or a Pension; and he who has no Estate in Land, to establish the Funds upon its Ruin. This then we may take as another constant Rule, to vote for such a one, whose Interest it is to preserve the Land from Payments and Subsidies, as

well for his own, as for the Good of the Publick. But if his Estate has been acquir'd by the *Plunder and Oppression of the People*, the Case is alter'd: For this is a Crime so very black, that it strikes at the Root of our Constitution, unhinges all Government, and lays our Property in common. Whosoever therefore has been guilty of it, if he has not unloaded himself, and restor'd what, in *plain English*, he has stoll'n from the Publick, he is, without Question, the most unfit to represent his Country, or to be entrusted with a Charge that requires all the Honour and Fidelity in the World. Such a Person can come into a *new War*, or any other Scheme for our Destruction; for War is his Harvest, and the Plunder of his Country the Crop he would be reaping.

Next to such sort of Persons as these, we should be very cautious of chusing Officers of the Army, or any who have to do with the Funds establish'd for the Payment of it: For War is a second Nature to them, 'tis their *Element and Substance*, and few of them are *amphibious*; or if they can live, they can never thrive out of their Element. Besides, a standing Army is of such ill Consequence, that whoever votes for it, votes for Slavery with a Witness; for those who defend us only out of Interest,

rest, will swallow us too, when they find it for their Interest to do it.

But above all Things, we are to avoid the Favourites of such Emissaries, who are sent about to purchase Votes, by the opening of certain Flood-Gates. 'Tis a most undeniable Truth, that those that will buy, will sell; or to what End else is their Money expended? I remember, a certain great Man was at his Wits End for a round Sum of Money; but how to obtain it, was a perfect Secret to him: He had study'd this Method, and that; but every one of them prov'd ineffectual: 'Till at the last, an Acquaintance of his, who was better vers'd in the Art and Mystery of borrowing, put it in his Head to call all his Neighbours together, and make them a handsom Entertainment, with a Piece of Money under every one of their Plates, and the Work would be done to his Hands. How! said the Nobleman, this is next to an Impossibility; they will never be drawn in by so small a Bribe, to advance me such immense Loans as I shall stand in Need of; I'll e'en save what I have, without running any farther Risque. With that, his Friend turn'd himself to a Pump which had stood dry for some Time, and calling for a Quart of Water, bid him observe the Experiment; and the

Tryal being made, more than a Hoghead of Water was immediately forc'd out of it : With which the necessitous Person being convinc'd, ventur'd his Money, and had brought into his Coffers more than twenty Times ten Fold.

Nor can we do Justice to the establish'd Church, whereof our most gracious King is the glorious Defender, unless our Representatives are Members of the Church of *England*, not only in Name, but in Thing : Men who perfectly understand her Doctrine and Discipline ; who have a just and adequate Notion of Episcopacy, and of the Dignity and Office of the Priesthood. Without this, all other Qualifications are but Tinsel and Varnish : For if we lose our Church, we lose the better Part of our Constitution ; our Rights and Liberties will soon vanish and follow it, and universal Ruin will succeed. A true Church-man is thoroughly vers'd in every Branch of his Principles ; and has all the other Qualifications we desire inherent in him. He is a Man of the strictest Loyalty and Virtue ; and has the Rights and Privileges, as well as the Religion of our Nation at his Heart : He abhors the Thought of the Plunder of his Country, or the Miseries that flow from the Encroachments of publick Robbers  
and



and Sycophants. In a Word, he is as constant in his Duties to God, as those of his Prince; and can as easily lay down a Place of Trust, when he suspects himself in bad Company, as take it up when he knows himself to be in good.

Another Consideration, that ought in a special manner to affect us, is the Remembrance of our late Sovereign Lady Queen ANNE, whose Piety, Probity, and most gentle Administration, must be held in Esteem by all Orders and Conditions of Men, but such as are at Enmity with Religion, Loyalty and Virtue. Let us have at Heart the Example she has set us, in the Choice of a wise and faithful Ministry; a Ministry howsoever there might be one *Trickster* amongst them, as there was a *Judas* among the Apostles themselves, that notwithstanding the Misrepresentations they may lie under at present, will be ever Grateful to us. Those whom so good a QUEEN has honour'd with her Confidence, and best Regards, cannot but be most surely deserving of ours; and the *Bromley's*, the *Wyndham's*, the *Stonehouse's*, and the rest of their illustrious Associates and Compatriots, must have it in their Power again to be an Ornament to the Senate-House, as they will be an Honour to those that elect them. The Eyes of all *Europe* are at present upon us, and on our future Elections depends the Repose of all *Christianity*; which had been well nigh brought about, and finish'd by this Time, had that great and glorious QUEEN ceas'd for a Time, to be gather'd to her Fathers. And shall we, now she rests from her Labours,

Labours, to accomplish those desirable Ends, act quite contrary to her Designs, and most ardent Desires? Shall we be represented by such as breathe nothing but War, when it has always been our late Monarch's Endeavours to bequeath us a lasting and honourable Peace?

This is the Legacy which her late Majesty has left us, and by this only it is possible for us to be a rich and flourishing People. How injurious should we be therefore to the Memory of our Royal Benefactress; how answerable to Posterity, for entailing Poverty upon them, how reproachful to future Ages, should we not do what in us lies, to remove that Burthen of Taxes, which must otherwise lie heavy upon them, from Generation to Generation? This can be done no otherwise, than by the Methods prescrib'd; and in doing this, 'tis impossible but we must be well-pleasing in the Eyes of GOD, our King, and our Country. The first is the Author of Peace; the second cannot have *his Throne establish'd in Righteousness* without it; and the last cannot act in Duty to the one and the other, unless it endeavours to promote it. For let Factious Men say what they will, 'tis owing to our late Peace-makers, that our present most Gracious KING now Reigns over us; and we can never do to him an ungrateful Thing, by our Election of such Members to serve in Parliament, whose Zeal for his Succession, put him into a Capacity of presiding over the Three Estates of the Nation.

Old Scores should be paid off, before new Ones are contracted; and the Kingdom is too much in Debt, to think of involving our  
selves

selves deeper. Every Thing that is capable of raising Money, is tax'd as far as it will bear; Coals, Candles, Soap, and Leather, pay a Duty for several Years to come, almost to the entire Destruction of the Poor. The Window-Tax is detrimental to the Middle-sort; the Customs to the Merchants; and the Land and Malt-Tax, with all the rest, to the Gentlemen and Free-holders: So that nothing remains to compleat our Ruin, but a *general Excise*. Let us therefore, while it is in our Power, consult the *Things that belong unto our Peace*; and send up such Members to St. Stephen's Chappel, as scorn to be bought or sold, to be brib'd or marketed into a *new War*, or lay a further Load upon their Neighbours; and think not that in acting contrary, we concur with the Sentiments of the C——t, since that has already shewn its entire Regard for the Conservation of the Peace, by its Displeasure against the Author of the *Reasons for a War*, whom I have had under Consideration. As for the military and ambitious Man, let him read the following Story.

### The Story of Pyrrhus and Cineas.

**W**HEN Phyrrius was preparing to make War against the Romans, Cineas the Philosopher took the Freedom to reason the Matter with him upon that Occasion. Put the Case, says Cineas, that you should beat the Romans now, what would you be the better for't? Why, says Pyrrhus,

thus, it would make us Masters of all *Italy*. Right, *says Cineas*, and where will you be then ! Why for that, *says Pyrrhus*, we'll have a Blow at *Sicily*, that lies hard by there, you know. Well, *says Cineas again*, and when you have got *Sicily*, there's an End of the War. Nay, soft for that, *says Pyrrhus*, for this is only a Way to more glorious Adventures ; as, who knows but we may overcome *Lybia* and *Carthage* ? Like enough, *says Cineas* ; and now, upon the Word of a Prince, and of a Man of Honour, if you had the whole World at your Feet, where would you take up at last ? *Pyrrhus found by this Time, what it was the Philosopher pointed at ; and with a kind of consciencious Smile, gave him this Answer*. If I were once Master, *says he*, of the Universe, we would e'en live easily and make merry. And what hinders you, *says the other*, I beseech you, from living as easily, and as merrily now, as you could do then ? Nothing in this World, but the ravenous Appetite of an insatiable Ambition.

Thus have I finish'd what I had to say in this little Compass, which is more than too much, if not well observ'd and follow'd, since I might as well have said nothing at all.